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ANTHROPOLOGY CURRICULUM STUDY PROJECT

KIOWA YEARS

Teacher's Manual

Rachel R. Sady

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**TEACHER'S
MANUAL**

by Rachel R. Sady

for

**KIOWA
YEARS**

by Alice Marriott

THE MACMILLAN COMPANY, NEW YORK
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CLASSROOM USE OF THE KIOWA MATERIAL

Kiowa Years can be read as an entertaining and informative story just as it stands. Together with *Profile of a People*, it offers abundant description of an Indian way of life that was a part of our total American history. But these volumes can be used in American history classes for richer rewards. The ease with which the books can be read should not disguise the exact methodology that has gone into a career of field-work among the Kiowas and of analysis and comparison of the data so collected. The purpose here is to indicate ways of taking advantage of this.

The Kiowa volumes provide anthropological material that can be used to make students familiar with some very important concepts, ideas from the social sciences that are applicable throughout the social studies, including the study of our own society. These ideas provide a conceptual framework that makes coherent the most diverse kinds of data, either encompassing or cutting across the usual organizing frames of time and space.

The Kiowa material can be used in the social studies classroom in a variety of contexts. In some secondary school courses, time is devoted initially to discussion of the concepts and methods of historiography, geography, or modern community studies. Here a cross-cultural perspec-

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tive, always implicit and often explicit in anthropological material, can cast into bolder relief ideas about historical process, geography, and our own community life. The experiences recounted in *Kiowa Years* can be mined for their very specific contributions to such a comparative view.

Anthropological concepts also can be tackled at any number of points, wherever the anthropological material is available, in world or American history courses that are chronologically organized. *Kiowa Years* covers a period which is often chosen in American history courses for a “last look” at the American Indian, just as he disappears as a barrier to post-Civil War expansion westward. It is an opportune time to pause in this chronological account and discuss the conceptual, to forget about the Indian as a “barrier,” and to capture the contribution of his experience to the study of all mankind.

Another possible way to introduce the Kiowa data is by comparison with data on other Indian groups, data that are now increasingly taken advantage of to enrich the content of various state history sequences. Such a comparative approach, again, emphasizes the relevance of various particular cases to general ideas. For example, if in New York schools the rich anthropological sources on the Iroquois are used—or in North Carolina on the Cherokee, or in Arizona on the Navaho, and so on—the Kiowa data would increase students’ familiarity with ideas broached in those other studies, to reinforce the lesson that all mankind can be better understood by the systematic and dispassionate study of particular groups.

The anthropological concepts that can be illustrated by the story of Sitting Bear and his people are many. But a very wise anthropologist once said that concepts are like friends—the fewer they are, the better one may know them. It is not proposed that students be burdened with a long list of concepts and definitions to remember as they read. The glossary at the end of this manual is for help in understanding and using the terms defined there, not for memorization. The suggestion here is that students be stimulated to discuss in the classroom what they have read in terms of the two broad subjects of what culture is and how culture changes. These two subjects—the former primarily concerned with description and analysis and the latter with process—are relevant to vast areas of the social studies curriculum. Culture, perhaps the most important concept in anthropology, can make clear to young students

much about the way peoples everywhere behave. And culture change—the processes, causes, and regularities—is the very stuff of history.

The ways to relate the Kiowa material to the concepts which follow are in no sense a rigid prescription. Some approaches may appeal to some teachers more than others or fit better with the general plan of the course. Certainly, too, the extent to which the examples from our own culture are used in classroom discussion will depend on the extent to which the teacher wishes, at a particular time, to meld the study of history with the study of society. Perhaps the interest of the students themselves will indicate which points to explore and which to hurry by.

THE CONCEPT OF CULTURE

A culture is a people's way of life, their daily habits as well as their deepest beliefs and values, their casual customs as well as their most meaningful ceremonies. It is every way of thinking and doing that each individual learns from and shares with other members of the society in which he is brought up.

This definition of *a* culture, *a* way of life, is specific and, when the rubrics of the definition are filled in with detailed description—that is, when particular beliefs, values, customs, ceremonies, attitudes and behavior are delineated—the definition becomes concrete in the sense that only one culture is indicated. Culture can also be thought of generically, however. In this sense, culture is mankind's special invention; only mankind possesses it. Other animals live in social groups, learn from experience and from one another, even occasionally use tools—all essential to the creation of culture—but none has developed the further essential of a system of communication based on symbols such as language. In short, all culture is a learned, shared, patterned way of life, but each society has its own specific culture, its own unique way.

Culture is a flexible concept in that it can be used to describe ways of life at different levels of shared characteristics, depending on a particular context. When looked at spatially as the geographical distribution of various associated culture traits, this concept becomes the "culture area," an area the scope of which changes in accordance with the numbers and kind of cultural elements considered important for the purposes in mind.

For example, we can speak of American Indian and Western European cultures (or culture areas, if we are interested in their spread), and know the kind of distinctions in ways of living that we are thinking about. So can we speak of Plains Indian, or Latin American, or southern United States, or even a particular village culture, and know that although we are recognizing distinctions on different scales, we are nonetheless recognizing the importance in each case of a unique, shared, learned pattern of living. Each pattern is a model of the generic culture possessed by all mankind.

In this sense, our way of life today is a culture, and so was the Kiowa way of life in 1870.

It was the Winter the Bugle was Blown. The troopers who had recently started building a permanent camp on the south bank of Stinking Water Creek counted their years in numbers; they called it 1869. (P. 1)

The cultures of the world are lavishly diverse and deeply so.

All cultures are basically similar.

These two statements, seemingly contradictory, are both true. The Kiowa data can be used to illustrate—or to draw from the students themselves—how this can be so, and to explore the nature of cultural diversity and cultural similarity.

If students think about the Kiowa way of life as an example of cultural diversity, a long list of kinds of behavior and beliefs “different” from our own might come to mind. Among these are the eating of buffalo meat, living in buffalo-hide tipis, having more than one wife at a time, recognizing a favorite child institutionally, naming people after associated things or events, owning songs but not owning land, and any number of other customs, including even such a spontaneous gesture as pointing with chin and mouth. Embedded throughout the narrative of *Kiowa Years* are ethnographic data testifying to the distinct character of Kiowa culture. But as clearly as the Kiowas exemplify the great diversity of culture, they also exemplify the similarity of all cultures.

Certain cultural characteristics beyond those of definition (shared, learned, patterned, unique) are possessed by all peoples as a result of the facts that man has a common biological nature and has had, throughout his cultural evolution, common physical and social needs, and has faced common physical and social situations. Such shared cultural characteristics are not of the same order as the distinctive Kiowa characteristics mentioned above, but they envelop them, setting limits for the wide range of possible human behavior. In other words, there is a system of regularities or universal pattern of culture within which occurs a great diversity of detail.

This universal pattern is clear in the story even through the detailed description of what is unique in the Kiowa culture. In reading, we automatically compare areas of Kiowa life with areas of life in our own society. For example, we can talk about one wife or the four wives of Sitting Bear, but we know that we are talking about family life. We can talk about farming, or wage-earning, or the subsistence hunting of the Plains Indians, but we know that in all these cases we are talking about making a living—providing food and shelter. We have no trouble in realizing that when Young Sitting Bear participates in the Sun Dance, and when his father performs the several other ceremonies described in *Kiowa Years*, they are establishing a relationship with the supernatural that we regard as religious. Similarly, in an individual's life cycle, we may celebrate graduation from high school as in our society or induction into the Gourd Society as among the Kiowas, but somehow we note the passage from one status to another. And finally, in reference to the passage quoted at the beginning of this section, people can label a year by numbers or a season by some important event that occurred during its span, but the passage of the same kind of time is being noted.

Another way of using the Kiowa data to underscore cultural similarities is to discuss the personalities of some of the characters in *Kiowa Years*. Different cultures put a premium on different kinds of behavior and favor the development of certain kinds of personalities, but this cultural emphasis does not disguise the underlying and universal human nature, which is partly shaped by universal cultural patterns. In *Kiowa Years* we find recognizable characters—the aggressive White Bear, the devoted Straight Walking Woman, the opportunistic Kicking Bird—in recognizable situations such as finding food, celebrating an

achieved honor, punishing a transgression, mourning a death and so on. If students are reminded by these portraits of similar characters in similar situations, either in literature or in real life, they are approaching an understanding of what is culturally universal.

In summary, there are many different ways of going about the business of feeding and protecting ourselves, of communicating and getting along together, of dealing with the unknown, and of appreciating and creating beauty. Every culture is selective in the sense that of all of man's potentialities, it has developed only some. But despite this selectivity, which results in diversity, cultures are basically similar the world over, because mankind has certain shared biological, social, and psychological needs and certain natural and social conditions.



All the things that made a man's life came together in the Sun Dance. Sitting Bear had never thought of that before. (P. 72)

Probably the most important single thing that anthropologists have learned about culture is that it has form or pattern. No culture is simply a collection of queer customs and odd bits of behavior. Any such impression means only that we do not know very much about that particular culture.

Cultures are whole ways of life made up of many interrelated parts, and each part can be understood only in its total cultural context, which includes the point of view of a participant in the culture. Dominant in the total pattern are the values of a culture, the goals, and the kinds of behavior considered most desirable.

In anthropology, ethnographies or case studies are attempts to present in as much detail as possible a picture of whole cultures with interrelated parts, and to decipher the pattern of a people's way of life. *Kiowa Years* is such a case study, written especially for young people. The wealth of data skillfully presented in this book, buttressed by background information more conventionally organized in *Profile*, provides countless opportunities for students to discover the interrelationships and values of Kiowa culture.

Some cultural elements are more closely interknit than others. We

can speak, for instance, of the hunting pattern of the Kiowas, meaning that whole complex of behavior and belief involved in the hunting of buffaloes—use and care of horses and equine equipment, fashioning and use of weapons for killing and butchering, ceremonies performed to ensure success in finding game, group cooperation in and policing of the hunt, and so on. The dietary pattern of the Kiowas includes the foods eaten, how they are obtained and prepared, when they are eaten, and the whole etiquette surrounding the giving and eating of food. Students might be asked to describe, using the case study material, these Kiowa patterns as well as others such as war patterns (including horses, weapons, raiding, attitudes toward other groups, the value of bravery), technological patterns (including tanning, division of labor, tools, weapons, tipi-making) and so on. The patterning of whatever group activity that is selected can be seen in the way particular items of behavior and other culture traits are linked together interdependently.

Even these few patterns, briefly suggested, lead to the observation that Kiowa patterns are quite tightly interwoven. Horses are used in hunting, but they also figure prominently in raiding, both as transportation and as plunder, and in moving tipis and household goods from place to place. Buffaloes are hunted for food, housing, clothing, bedding, and ornamentation. Men's societies police the hunt, give feasts, have certain roles in ceremonies, and so on. Ways of making a living, family relationships, religious ceremonies and beliefs, and still other culture patterns are interrelated in numerous ways, with many elements in each pattern being dependent on elements in the others. The way that all of the various patterns of living are related to all of the others and to the style-setting underlying values forms the total pattern of life of the group, their "design for living."

The dominant Kiowa values of courage, generosity, and individual responsibility are stated explicitly in the volumes. But it may help students appreciate how value systems permeate a culture if they are asked to think about the relevance of these qualities to membership in some of the men's societies, the garnering of war honors, and the presenting of "giveaways," with reference, in each case, to the experience of Sitting Bear and his favorite son.

Students might be asked to trace the ramifications of buffalo hunting in Kiowa life. If they can be led to see how the basic Kiowa economy

was bound to the division of labor between the sexes and hence to the very structure of family life (the four wives of Sitting Bear cooperating over the hide-tanning is an evocative example), or to see how the economy was reflected in the purposes and forms of the men's dancing and ceremonial societies, and in other religious observances, then students will begin to grasp the tremendous meaning of the interrelatedness of a culture, how its many parts are integrated into one whole way of life.

Another approach to help the students see pattern in Kiowa culture is to ask them to examine the Plains concept of power through Sitting Bear's experience as he achieved power in various forms, transferred it, and lost it, and how this experience was involved in his family relationships, the political life of his band, and religious ritual.

Sitting Bear's thought quoted at the beginning of this section, however, may provide one of the best clues to the values and interrelatedness of Kiowa culture. The Sun Dance complex for the Kiowas, as for many other Plains Indian groups, epitomized their whole way of life, with its emphasis on the value of courage in the self-torture involved, and on the value of generosity in the associated giveaway feasts, and with its involvement of both the natural and the supernatural, and its stress of important social and political relationships. "Let the buffalo stay as long as the Kiowa people last," exhorts the Sun Dance priest, ceremonially dramatizing the basis of Kiowa adaptation to their environment.

In studying the Kiowas, students are gaining some understanding of a comparatively homogeneous and well-integrated way of life. That is, most Kiowas were familiar with most parts of their culture, with the exceptions of the difference between men's life and women's life, the difference bestowed by possession of power, and the minor differences involved in belonging to the various societies. Most parts of Kiowa culture were intimately related to most other parts. Students might be asked to consider in what way their own culture differs from that of the pre-reservation Kiowas and in regard to homogeneity and degree of integration, and to think about the complexity of modern life in terms of these two factors. For instance, members of the students' own community not only do not know all the same parts of their shared culture, they do not even know that some parts familiar to others exist. Labor

and knowledge are highly specialized, and family backgrounds, religious beliefs, and social and political organizations are greatly differentiated. Your students cannot, on the basis of self-knowledge only, describe one another as successfully as could Kiowa children.



“The new people who are coming in are strangers to us and to our ways. They cut open the earth and put strange seeds in it. They build boxes to live in and string prickly wire around everywhere.” (P. 31)

Ethnocentrism is the feeling that one's own way of life is the right and natural way. People throughout the world tend strongly to have this cultural bias, even though within any one society there is conflict and dissatisfaction over specific conditions, and values compete. The importance of becoming aware of our own ethnocentrism and of realizing that it is rooted in our cultural experience—for example, three meals a day of certain foods is only right because this is what we have always had—can hardly be over-emphasized. Complementarily, it is also basic to recognize that other peoples have ways that seem just as right and natural to them, and that are just as solidly rooted in their cultural experience.

Ethnocentrism is not only inevitable, it is an appreciable force for good within any society, strengthening group solidarity, bolstering morale, and going hand-in-hand with values that give meaning to life. Relations between societies are a different matter, and it is in this area that we must learn to perceive how ethnocentrism operates in our own society and in others to make “strangers” of people, and to try to counter this by a better understanding of other cultures.

The impact of ethnocentrism can be brought home to students if they are asked to contrast some of the Kiowa ways so vividly presented in the Kiowa material with what they know of our frontier culture of the period. In particular, they should try to look at each group from the point of view of the other culture. For example, the selection from White Bear's prayer quoted at the beginning of this section refers—from the Indian's point of view—to three differences between the Kiowas and the white Americans: The nomadic, hunting way of the Kiowas and the agricultural life of the settlers; the Kiowas living in movable,

hide tipis and the settlers living in sturdy cabins or frame houses; the Kiowas roaming the wide plains and the white men fencing in the land. Students might again be reminded of the internal “fit” or the interrelatedness of culture by pointing out that these three elements in each culture go together—the method of making a living with the kind of dwelling and with ideas about land ownership. These are not random associations. However natural farming and houses and fencing seem to us, White Bear’s description of them helps us stand outside our own culture to catch a glimpse of how our ways may seem as strange to others as theirs seem to us.

There are other explicit examples in *Kiowa Years* of the Indian view of the white Americans and their way of life: White Bear’s use of the phrase “nits make lice,” Sitting Bear’s contempt for Tamma’s foolishness in camping under the elm, and the Kiowa abhorrence of the custom of hanging men. And implicit contrasts are threaded throughout the story. Students can try, for example, to imagine how the cooperating wives of a Kiowa family might have regarded the pioneer woman going about her tasks without the help and company of co-wives, or how the independent Kiowa warrior, raiding primarily to accumulate war honors that attest to his courage, might have viewed the disciplined troops from the forts subordinating themselves to the strategic plans of their officers.

This kind of thinking about cultures, particularly cultures in conflict, leads to a realization that understanding other cultures is essential to a better understanding of history. Historic events are inevitably seen from different cultural points of view, and are often strongly colored because of that fact. No one would expect opposing nations to produce the same accounts of their conflicts, and neither can one expect peoples whose cultures emphasize different values to arrive at an historiographic consensus. It is, of course, impossible as well as undesirable to abandon our own pattern of values in order to see history clearly. But to become aware of our ethnocentrism is to soften the coloring that it gives to events of both the past and the present, and to lay the groundwork for evolving values universal in scope.

One aim of anthropologists and of novelists is to portray a point of view so vividly that we, the readers, are able for a while, at least, to take on the assumptions and experiences of others. If young students

are able to glimpse what reality was to Sitting Bear's people in 1870, how their view of westward expansion was colored not only by fast-approaching defeat but by their own deeply-felt culture, then the author's wedding of the methods of the anthropologist and the novelist will have been productive of great good.

Pertinent questions for students are: where else in American history has there been a confrontation of cultures, and what events other than the subjection of the West might similarly be described from two cultural biases? Possible answers include the whole range of contacts of Indians with colonists from different European nations, the confrontation of the American Revolution against the background of the emerging colonial culture and the British homeland patterns, the long prelude to the Civil War and the period of the War itself during which free state values and slave state values clashed, the experience of successive waves of immigrants to the new world, on both the east and west coasts, and our country's forays into overseas administration in the Caribbean and the Pacific.

IV

*"Teach them what?" demanded White Shell Woman.
"We can teach our children. Kiowas always have."
(P. 21)*

This response of a Kiowa woman to the news that a missionary proposed to stay with an Indian band to teach the Indian children touches on the very important process of growing up in a particular culture, learning from numerous cues what to expect and how to act. It seems to many of us that our way of life is such a natural way that we cannot imagine having to learn it, but nothing could be farther from the case. Culture is learned; it is not biologically inherited. From birth, a child is responded to in many ways that gradually form his expectations. Step by step he learns the ways of his people by observing what others do and by enjoying their approval or suffering their disapproval of what he does. How the child is taught; that is, the extent and nature of the approval and disapproval, is part of the learning pattern of a culture and strongly predicates the individual personalities of group members.

The process of being shaped to a particular culture by precept and training is called "enculturation," a word easy to learn because it stems

descriptively from culture and profitable to use because it channels awareness of a multitude of activities, ranging from the unconscious or assumed to the highly formal and strongly sanctioned. Some of each kind of these activities are woven into the Kiowa story, and students may be able to discover and discuss them on their own. To stimulate a discussion of how the young Kiowas became enculturated—which is another way of saying how they became Kiowa—they might be asked to think about how Singing Girl early became acquainted with the adult world and traditions of her people as she sat with older members of her family in the tipi—watching, being groomed, listening to their conversation and to the old familiar tales. They might also be asked to compare the informal role-playing of the Kiowa children whose camp caused such chaos the night the bugle was blown with the more organized activities of the children's societies—first the Rabbits for the very young and then the Herders for the boys, where they were taught to obey orders, how to fight, and not to scare the game. Even the men's Gourd Dancers Society was a training ground where, Sitting Bear thought, his favorite son would learn to work well with other people. Through educating their young in all these ways, the Kiowas handed their culture on from generation to generation.

Consideration of sanctions of approval and disapproval used by the Kiowas, might be initiated by quoting White Bear on two occasions: "We see that you are a young man who knows how to behave himself. We understand that you want to have the respect and good words of all the people," he said to Young Sitting Bear, inviting him to join the Gourd Society. And, "He's young, but since he was as young as your baby, who's just beginning to understand, he's known better than to scare the game," he remarked to Calls Eagles' wife, about her badly beaten husband.

Students might be encouraged to think of ways we in our society are enculturated, and the kinds of sanctions that we use. Children in our society, for example, do not encounter early all of their adult world; rather, they are still learning new and surprising and even conflicting parts of it when they become adults. Also, there are many more enculturating agents in our lives than there were among the Kiowas—school, church, government, mass media—and also many more kinds of sanctions. Among the latter are awards for scholastic or athletic

prowess, or simply for “good citizenship,” marks, prizes and legal penalties, as well as the more often encountered smiles and frowns of everyday life.

CULTURE CHANGE

New ways as well as old ways can be learned, and old ways can also be forgotten. Culture is dynamic, always building upon itself and always adapting to new conditions and new situations, even in those societies that seem the most devoted to tradition. Culture changes by the same processes everywhere, but there are great differences in the magnitude of the change and in how fast it takes place.

The Kiowas are described at a point in time between two periods of vast change. The earlier was a period of great internal growth made possible chiefly by acquisition of horses; the latter was the result of close contact, characterized by conflict, with frontier America. Both periods were spanned by only four generations: one of Sitting Bear's wives recalls how her grandmother “grew wings with horses,” and Sitting Bear himself worries, prophetically, that Singing Girl and Eagle Boy would “end their lives living like white men.” In *Kiowa Years* students will find ample illustration of the processes of culture change and can begin to understand the forces that operate for stability and those that operate for change within a society.



“Once, a long time ago, we made brush tipis, not hide ones. We had no horses, only dogs. Our women cooked with hot stones in holes in the ground, not in buckets. . . . The Kiowas have changed their ways a lot of times.”
(P. 105)

In all societies new ways are innovated, accepted or rejected, and if accepted modified to fit with the old ways, and some old ways are eliminated. What happened among the Kiowas is a particular example of on-going processes everywhere.

There is a reciprocal relationship between culture and people. Each individual must learn his culture from his society, and innovations in that culture must originate with individuals. Sometimes these indi-

viduals will invent something—a new tool, a variation in a ceremony, a different social etiquette, for example—but far more often they will borrow such things and such ideas from other societies. The place of borrowing, which is called diffusion if the discussion is from the point of view of the origin of the culture traits concerned, in the development of cultures can hardly be sufficiently stressed. Every society has borrowed extensively, whether its people realize it or not, from other cultures. Students might be asked to pick out from the data presented things that the Kiowas, at the time when the story opens, had so borrowed. Such a list would include the horse and associated accoutrements, kettles to cook in, guns, other metal tools, sugar and coffee, blankets, and even the custom of braiding hair. That the immediate source for the Kiowas of most of these particular items was other Indian tribes and not the white men who had brought them to America, illustrates the long range effect of diffusion.

The importance of individual personality within a culture in inventing or borrowing new ways is dramatically evidenced in the person of the very atypical Sitting Bear. Here is a man who started two new men's societies—such societies were part of a general Plains pattern—one in accordance with his war power and the other in accordance with his medicine power; a man who refused to permit his wives to mourn in the customary self-mutilating fashion, who broke old taboos, among them giving his son his own name, and who even defied his people's deepest fears in his treatment of his son's bones. Students might be asked to compare Sitting Bear, the "shield" of his people, as an innovator, with his rival Kicking Bird, who quickly took over the new ways presented him by the traders and the missionaries, forerunners of frontier America. A classroom discussion of Sitting Bear and Kicking Bird as personalities should illuminate the role of innovators in societies everywhere.

The individual innovates new ways of behaving, but whether or not these new ways become part of the total way depends on whether his fellows find enough advantage in the new mode to undergo the discomfort of giving up an old way. White Bear made a startling innovation when he suggested counting burning houses and cutting wire fences as war deeds. One feels that it was rejected by his compatriots because it shocked their sense of what was proper rather than for the reasons they actually gave.

The most obvious advantage of any innovation is utility, and the utility of most of the borrowed items mentioned above needs little discussion. Two reactions of Sitting Bear's wives might be considered: White Shell Woman muses about the white man's gardens. "If you have a garden, you have food for the children in winter, buffaloes or no buffaloes," she remarks to Sitting Bear. "I wonder why the Kiowas never gardened?" And from her sister-wife, Cloud Woman, she asks for fur to fill her saddle pad. "I tried one (like that) when the Crows came visiting at Sun Dance last summer, and I liked it. It seemed to me it was more comfortable than our kind of saddle pad."

Traits are accepted for other reasons than how practically useful they may be, however, and students might be encouraged to speculate about these other factors. One such is the prestige of the innovator in the borrowing society. The missionary, for example, approached two leading chiefs, men with high status, Kicking Bird and Sitting Bear; he did not go to lesser men in the two bands. Another factor is the prestige or dominance of the donor society, as exemplified in Kicking Bird's response when, goaded by Sitting Bear, he cries out, "The white men are stronger than we are . . . Better to go with them, and be sure of food in the camps." Feelings between people of contrasting cultures are important in the extent and nature of the borrowing that goes on between them, but there is no simple one-to-one relationship. Overt hostility does not prevent borrowing: Sitting Bear desired the white men's gun, and the white trader sold it to him.

An important factor in acceptance of traits is whether the new way can fit in with the whole way of life, the whole culture. A new trait is usually modified in some way to fit better into the established pattern. The actual form of the new trait may be altered, or some new meaning may be attached to it. At any rate, there is some adjustment between old and new ways. If the adjustment is too difficult to make, the change is not accepted unless there is an element of force, and often not even then. Students might be asked to review what they have learned about how cultures are made up of interrelated parts in connection with this factor, and to discuss the changes wrought in Kiowa culture by two innovations, each made during one of the periods of great change. The Kiowas quickly adapted horses to their own way of life, as did other Plains Indians, increasing their efficiency in hunting and raiding, two pursuits that were already greatly favored. They had

been mobile, with their dog-drawn travois, but now they achieved even greater freedom of movement; indeed, they seemed to grow wings. Many aspects of the culture changed rapidly in response to this new element, so that anthropologists speak of a “florescence” of Plains culture. It was, however, development along an already-set pattern and a deepening of already-felt values.

Traits adopted in the second period of great change, the period of close contact with the dominant frontier culture, were more difficult to accept and required more modification of old Kiowa ways. Culture change in this kind of situation, that is, continuous face-to-face contact between two cultures, is called acculturation, and it is sometimes accompanied by a great deal of disorganization because the values of the two cultures involved are likely to be distinct. For instance, after Sitting Bear's death his band was herded into a corral and was later settled on pieces of land. The immediate purpose of this was simply to subjugate hostile Indians, but there followed an attempt to teach the Kiowas to conform to the goal, desirable to the whites, of becoming settled farmers. This was not in accord with Kiowa values, however. To the Kiowa men the proper goals in life were providing for their people by hunting buffaloes and amassing glory by performing brave deeds on war parties. As explained in *Profile of a People*, with hunting and warfare barred to them, Kiowa men sat listlessly in camp and family life deteriorated.

Not all distinct ways are incompatible, however. The missionary in *Kiowa Years* deeply offended Sitting Bear, already suspicious of his aims, by refusing to smoke with him. But Kicking Bird explained the refusal in terms of purely Kiowa understandings: “It is against his power.” Again as explained in *Profile*, many of the Kiowas accepted the new religion brought by the missionaries, as well as particular elements of it that were contained in the new peyote faith. These innovations were, in the end, compatible with the Kiowa concept of mysterious, divine power. The substitution of cattle for buffaloes was a harder transition, but did finally help the Kiowas to adopt needed new ways.

These processes of culture change—innovation, selection, modification of old and new—take place continuously and interactingly and mostly unconsciously. When Young Sitting Bear led a raiding party into Texas to protect his way of life against the impact of the new

American culture, there was nothing incongruous in the fact that he sat a horse, wore a blanket and carried a gun traceable to that same culture. Every culture is made of borrowed elements uniquely woven.

Students may be able to trace some changes in their own culture in terms of these processes, using information either garnered from their history books or from talk with their parents and grandparents. If the children collaborate on a list of items that our culture has borrowed from other cultures, its length alone should testify to the importance of borrowing.

VI

"When the time comes that I must stop fighting for my land and my people, I will be dead. Before I will let them fence me in, I will die." (P. 47)

"We heard there is a white man down near the soldier camp who has things to sell." (P. 47)

Culture sometimes changes slowly and sometimes very rapidly. Students can read the Kiowa material with the view of identifying the forces operating to stabilize Kiowa culture, and the forces operating for change. One possibility is to discuss the personalities of three of the story's protagonists in this regard: Kicking Bird, whose camp was closest to the white Americans and quickly took on the appearance of a settled town; Sitting Bear, whose sense of individuality often outstripped even his strong pride in the traditions of his people; and White Bear, whose very intransigence hastened the end of what he sought to protect.

But as important as leadership roles are in culture change, the forces that operate inexorably are impersonal. One man—Sitting Bear—made both of the statements quoted at the beginning of this section. The first reflects his fierce commitment to Kiowa values, but the second points to the single most important cause of culture change—contact with other cultures, and the alternative choices that it brings with it.

The conservative forces operating to keep societies stable, or at the least providing continuity to whatever change is occurring, are the great power of tradition and the tendency of groups everywhere to feel that their way of life is the good life. The things that students have already learned about culture might be reviewed as stabilizing influences: the

interdependence of the various patterns that make up the whole design for living, the pervasiveness of the value system, the prevalence of ethnocentrism, and the process of enculturation. Special attention might be called to how the repetition of sacred rituals, such as the ceremony held before Young Sitting Bear's departure on a raid to ensure his safety and the sweat bath held after his departure, reinforces traditional patterns.

A culture changes, on the other hand, in adaptation to physical, social, and cultural conditions. Culture can, in a sense, be viewed as man's way of dealing with the world around him, with his total environment. If parts of this environment change, the processes of innovation, selection and modification operate to supply ways of dealing with the new situation. Also, there may be discontent with whatever mode of adaptation has already been achieved, and then again these processes of culture change may provide more satisfying adaptations.

Culture itself is a very important part of the total environment, and culture change builds rapidly on culture change. In addition, natural catastrophes or migration can cause changes in the physical environment to which cultures must accommodate, and population variations can present comparable changes in the social environment. One situation, however, most often brings all three of these factors—physical, social and cultural—into play and interplay, and that is culture contact.

Although the most drastic changes in Kiowa life did not occur until after Sitting Bear's death (consult *Profile of a People* for this period), modifications in Kiowa surroundings due to the westward moving frontier are quite clear in *Kiowa Years*. Already once widely separated Kiowa bands found themselves in unaccustomed proximity, and soldiers, traders and a missionary foreshadowed still closer contact with another culture. Students might consider not only the wider range of alternatives this close contact presented the Kiowas, but the kinds of choices involved. For example, they might contrast the scene at the trading post when Sitting Bear and White Shell Woman stare astonished at the stores on the shelves, and their pleasure in making their purchases, with the later scene when Sitting Bear bitterly disagrees with Kicking Bird about following the white men's more settled ways instead of the nomadic ways of the cherished past when buffaloes filled the Plains.

Sitting Bear and Kicking Bird, in fact, are excellent examples of a process that always seems to take place in acculturation situations. If

widely diverging alternative ways of behaving are apparent where they have not been before, individuals make different choices and deep rifts appear in formerly cohesive groups.

When cultures are in close contact, with one culture dominant, new ways may be imposed on the less powerful group. The imposition is not, however, a simple matter of directing a change in culture. Rather, the dominant society in some way changes the total environment to which the other group must adapt, as the physical, social and cultural environment of the Kiowas was changed at the end of the nineteenth century by the destruction of the buffalo and restraints on Kiowa freedom of movement. Culture cannot be directly shaped by force; the Kiowas never became the farming community envisioned by missionaries and government agents, but they did have to work out completely new adaptations. In doing so, they used traits from the old Kiowa pattern and new traits borrowed from the American culture. Culture changes in adaptation to changing conditions and situations, and in accordance with its own inner patterns and values.

If students consider specific physical, social and cultural conditions within their own and their parents' lives and think about how our society has adapted to these conditions, they will increase their understanding of how culture changes. Such a physical change as the dust bowl of the thirties, for example, has profoundly affected our technological and governmental patterns, and the drought of the sixties promises comparable change. Examples of social changes leading to cultural adaptation are the concentration of population in greater urban areas, and the contemporary civil rights movement. Cultural innovations that have led to even more innovation in ways of living include the impact of the invention of the airplane on transportation, business, and leisure patterns, and the discovery of new insecticides on farming, dietary, and housekeeping patterns.

SUMMARY

The Kiowa material can be used in the classroom to explore the nature of culture and culture change. Specifically, it can give substance to the following points:

I. The cultures of the world are extraordinarily diverse, but the diversities fall within a pattern common to mankind everywhere.

II. Cultures are whole ways of life made up of many interrelated patterns, which are made up in turn of interdependent elements.

III. Ethnocentrism is the universal tendency of people to feel that their own culture is the right and natural way of life.

IV. Culture is learned by the individual in the society in which he is brought up.

V. Culture changes through the processes of innovation, selection and modification of new ways and the elimination of old ways.

VI. Culture changes in adaptation to physical, social and cultural conditions and situations.

ANTHROPOLOGICAL GLOSSARY

Acculturation: culture change taking place when two societies with distinct cultures are in close and continuous contact

Anthropology: study of mankind as a whole through the comparison of man in particular groups

Concept: idea or way of thinking

Culture: total learned way of life

Diffusion: spread of culture traits

Disorganization: breakdown in old way of life unaccompanied by acceptance of new ways

Enculturation: learning the culture in which one is brought up

Ethnocentrism: tendency to regard one's own way of life as the right and natural way

Ethnography: detailed description of a culture

Innovation: invention or borrowing of a new culture element

Integration: closeness of relationship within a culture of various culture elements

Pattern: relationship within a culture of various culture elements to each other and to the underlying value system

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